

RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION IO-10

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	EB-01	EUR-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
	/034W						

-----B6C283 311710Z /38

R 311622Z MAR 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0399
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 000982

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RW, US
SUBJECT: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE UN
- HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD OFFICE

REF: STATE 074317

1. THE BEST RECENT EVALUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD
OFFICE ACTIVITY IS THE REPORT PREPARED BY ARTHUR (GENE)
DEWEY OF THE CONGRESSIONAL HUNGER CENTER. (TEL 202 547-
7022) DEWEY HAD BEEN IN COUNTRY LAST OCTOBER OFFERING
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HELPFUL ADVICE ON BREAKING THE LOGISTICS BOTTLENECK AND

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SO WAS INTIMATELY FAMILIAR WITH THE MONITORING PROGRAM. THIS TIME, DURING HIS END FEBRUARY TRIP, HE GOT AROUND TOWN AND UP-COUNTRY TALKING TO MONITORS, TEAM LEADERS AND CAPITAL CITY ADMINISTRATORS. HIS CONCLUSIONS ARE OBVIOUSLY HIS OWN, BUT THE DESCRIPTIVE PARTS OF HIS REPORT ARE AS ACCURATE A SUMMATION OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE PROGRAM AS WE HAVE SEEN.

2. SINCE DEWEY'S SURVEY HERE, THERE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A WINDSHIFT IN ATMOSPHERE, EVEN AS THE NUMBER OF MONITORS FINALLY BREAKS THROUGH TO 110 WITH ANOTHER 20-30 EU MONITORS DUE WITHIN A MONTH. IN A RECENT MEETING OF SRSG KMAN AND UNHCHR CLARENCE, PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME COMPLAINING ABOUT THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF MONITORS AND THEIR TENDENCY TO TEAR DOWN WHAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS TRYING TO DO, RATHER THAN HELP BUILD A BETTER ORDER. THE PRESIDENT MADE SIMILAR REMARKS TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON A WEEK AGO BUT THE AMBASSADOR REMINDED HIM OF THE CENTRAL ROLE MONITORS PLAY IN HELPING HIS GOVERNMENT ACHIEVE ITS STATED GOALS OF JUSTICE, REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

3. MONITORS. THE VALUE OF THE MONITORING FUNCTION CORRELATES DIRECTLY TO THE QUALITY OF THE PERSONNEL WHICH VARIES ENORMOUSLY. IT IS PATENT THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER DID A POOR JOB OF RECRUITING, EMPHASIZING TOO MUCH LAWYERLY BACKGROUND AND NOT ENOUGH THE UP-COUNTRY CAPABILITIES THAT FORMER PEACE CORPS PERSONNEL COULD HAVE BROUGHT. THE QUALITY OF MONITORS RANGES
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FROM TOTALLY UNPREPARED AND FECKLESS TO MATURE AND RESOURCEFUL. BY TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE, THE HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS ARE ADVERSARIAL, JUDGMENTAL AND SKEPTICAL OF AUTHORITY. MOREOVER, THE CORE OF THEIR MANDATE IS TO REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS; WHEN THE GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY AGENDA INCREASES HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, THE MONITORS AND GOVERNMENT ARE BOUND TO LOCK HORNS.

4. GIVEN THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT, THE MONITORS ARE NOT

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A HAPPY LOT. NEWLY ARRIVED MONITORS ARE EXPRESSING DOUBTS ABOUT THEIR EFFICACY; LONG-SERVING MONITORS ARE REMARKABLY PESSIMISTIC NOT ONLY ABOUT THE FUTURE OF RWANDA BUT FOR THE CLARITY AND PURPOSEFULNESS OF THEIR OWN MISSION. A HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT IN GITARAMA 95% OF THOSE ARRESTED WERE INNOCENT; A MONITOR FROM GISENYE OPINED THAT 95% OF THOSE IN GOMA CAMPS WERE GUILTY. WHAT IS NOTABLE IN THESE RECKLESS JUDGEMENTS IS THAT THEY WERE SO CASUALLY EXPRESSED OVER DINNER; IT WAS AS THOUGH MONITORS WERE BEGGING TO BE HEARD ON THEIR (PERSONAL) VIEWS. YET, IN RWANDA, SENSITIVITIES ARE RAW ON THE ISSUE OF JUSTICE AND DISCRETION SHOULD BE THE RULE. IF WE HAVE HEARD THE MONITORS' CASUAL JUDGEMENTS, THE GOVERNMENT AND RPF CERTAINLY HAVE AS WELL.

5. THE FIELD OFFICE. THERE HAVE BEEN A WIDE VARIETY OF MARKS GIVEN THE FIELD OFFICE FROM HOPELESS TO EFFECTIVE WITHIN RWANDA'S PECULIAR SITUATION. THAT MONITORS ARE DEPLOYED, REPORTING IN SOME SYSTEMATIC WAY AND CONTRIBUTING POSITIVELY TO THE RESTORATION OF JUSTICE
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INSTITUTIONS IS TO THE CREDIT OF THE OFFICE. THAT IT SHOULD HAVE TAKEN SO LONG TO ACCOMPLISH THESE GOALS AND THAT THE NUMBER OF MONITORS STILL HOVERS PRECARIOUSLY AROUND 100 MAY BE BLAMED ON NEW YORK, GENEVA, OR DONORS, BUT ALSO ON THE OFFICE'S FAILURE TO MOVE FIELD OPERATION EXPEDITIOUSLY. PART OF THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN THE FIELD OFFICE'S INVOLVEMENT IN TWO TURF BATTLES: WITH UNDP OVER WHO SHOULD LEAD THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE PROGRAM, AND WITH THE TRIBUNAL OVER WHO SHOULD INVESTIGATE GENOCIDE. BOTH OF THESE BATTLES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT WITH AGREEMENTS AT HEADQUARTERS AND ON THE GROUND.

6. THE GOVERNMENT'S CHARGE THAT UNHCHR HAS EMPHASIZED CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OVER INVESTIGATION OF GENOCIDE IS TRUE BUT NOT OF THE FIELD OFFICE'S DOING. SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE UNIT WITH A TDY AMERICAN TEAM LAST SEPTEMBER, CLARENCE HAS BEEN PLEADING FOR MORE VIGOROUS SUPPORT FROM DONORS

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TO THIS EFFORT SO AS TO GUARANTEE BALANCE IN HCHR'S
EFFORT IN RWANDA. DONORS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES,
HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO BREAK THROUGH BUREAUCRATIC RED
TAPE TO GIVE THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE UNIT THE SUPPORT

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IT WARRANTS.

7. A COMMONLY EXPRESSED VIEW IS THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS
MISSION IN RWANDA LACKS A CLEAR VISION OF WHERE IT IS
HEADED. IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THE MONITORS'
MISSION IS IMPORTANT BUT POORLY DEFINED. THE THREE
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AGREED TASK OF REPORTING, INVESTIGATING AND HELPING
REBUILD THE JUSTICE SYSTEM DOES NOT SEEM TO PROVIDE
THAT CAPTIVATING PURPOSE THAT WOULD WELD TOGETHER THE
DISPARATE ELEMENTS OF THE FIELD OFFICE AND GIVE IT
COHESIVE THRUST. SUCH DEFINITION OF PURPOSE MAY NOT BE
POSSIBLE IN RWANDA'S COMPLEX ENVIRONMENT, BUT THE UP-
COMING VISIT OF HIGH COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO SHOULD AT
LEAST OUTLINE ESSENTIAL PARAMETERS.
RAWSON

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